

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 DAR ES SALAAM 0153

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: SHUM, PDIP, PINS, TZ
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLANS

REF: STATE 2794

1. IN RESPONSE REFTEL, EMBASSY HAS PREPARED PART B REPLACEMENT
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN FOR TANZANIA.

2. COUNTRY OVERVIEW.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA HAS BEEN AMONG THOSE WHICH HAVE LOOKED
WITH APPROVAL AT THE EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN US FOREIGN POLICY.
IT STRIKES A BASICALLY RESPONSIVE CHORD WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE;
THERE IS LITTLE OR NOTHING IN PRINCIPLE WITH WHICH HE WOULD
DISAGREE. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, TANZANIA'S RECORD LEAVES ROOM
FOR IMPROVEMENT.

TANZANIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS DERIVE FROM THE IMMATURITY OF
ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM AND THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE OF ITS LEADERS,
AS WELL AS A FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF THAT AT THIS STAGE OF TANZANIA'S
DEVELOPMENT THE INTERESTS OF THE MASSES SHOULD PREVAIL OVER
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT WELL ENOUGH
ESTABLISHED TO ABSORB THE STRESSES OF POLITICAL COMPETITION.
SOME RESULTS OF THIS IMMATURITY ARE EVIDENT:
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A) STAKES ARE HIGH. IN TANZANIA, POLITICS HAS BEEN THE SWIFE
ROAD TO FAME, POWER, AND A RELATIVELY COMFORTABLE LIFE. UNLIKE MORE
DEVELOPED SOCIETIES, CAREERS IN MEDICINE, LAW, JOURNALISM,
COMMERCE AND THE LIKE CANNOT YET PRODUCE THE SAME RESULT. POLITICS
TENDS TO ATTRACT VERY AGGRESSIVE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE MADE
POLITICS THEIR PRINCIPAL OR ONLY CAREER. ONCE THEY ARE IN THEY

CANNOT AFFORD TO BE PUT OUT.

B) THERE IS NO PLACE FOR LOSERS. DEFEAT USUALLY RESULTS IN AN INSTANT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DOWNGRADING. IT MAY EVEN PRESENT A PERSONAL SECURITY PROBLEM. MOST OF TANZANIA'S POLITICAL LOSERS ARE IN EXILE OR PRISON. THOSE IN POWER WOULD EXPECT THE SAME FATE IF THEY LOST OUT AND STRUGGLE TO AVOID IT, THE 1964 MUTINY AND THE 1972 ASSASSINATION OF ZANZIBAR PRESIDENT KARUME BROUGHT HOME THE REALITIES TO THE POLITICAL HIERARCHY.

C) THERE IS NO PLACE FOR A SEPARATE OPPOSITION. IN TANZANIA'S SELF-CENTERED, ZEALOUS RUSH TO NATION-BUILDING AND SOCIALISM, NO PLACE HAS BEEN CREATED FOR THE OPERATION OF AN ORGANIZED POLITICAL OPPOSITION, EVEN WITHIN THE CONFINES OF A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM. TANZANIA'S LEADERS WILL HAVE TO BECOME CONSIDERABLY MORE CONFIDENT ABOUT THE COURSE OF THEIR COUNTRY'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT BEFORE THEY WILL ALLOW THE FREE OPERATION OF A POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

WHEN FACED WITH STIFF POLITICAL CHALLENGES THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT'S REACTION IS ALMOST AUTOMATIC: TAKE THE CHALLENGER OUT OF CIRCULATION. IF A CHARGE CAN BE FOUND THAT WILL STICK, A COURT CASE CAN BE MADE OF IT. IF NOT, OR IF THE CASE WOULD BE EMBARRASSING TO THE GOVERNMENT, THE COURTS ARE AVOIDED. TORTURE HAS BEEN SELECTIVELY APPLIED, BUT ITS USE DOES NOT APPEAR WIDESPREAD, AND POLITICAL DETAINEES ALONG WITH ORDINARY

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CONVICTS ARE OFTEN SUBJECTED TO HARSH PRISON CONDITIONS.

IN THE MAIN, TANZANIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM CENTERS ON TWO CATEGORIES OF PRISONERS.

1) MAINLAND PRISONERS. A SMALL NUMBER OF THESE BROKE WITH NYERERE OVER DIRECT COMPETITION FOR POLITICAL POWER. THE KAMBONAS AND GREY MATTAKA ARE THE BEST KNOWN OF THIS GROUP. NYERERE DOES NOT HAVE THE CONFIDENCE TO RELEASE THEM. MANY OF THE MAINLAND PRISONERS ATTRACTED ATTENTION BY OUTSPOKEN OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM. STILL OTHERS BECAME SERIOUSLY DISAFFECTED FROM THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE THEY WERE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN GOVERNMENT JOBS AND PROMOTIONS DUE TO THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN A TRIBAL GROUP (SUCH AS THE CHAGGA) WHICH RESISTED SOCIALISM. INCLUDED HERE ARE SECURITY FORCE PERSONNEL, SOME OF WHOM HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE NYERERE.

2) ZANZIBAR PRISONERS.

(A) A COUPLE OF DOZEN ZANZIBARIS ARE STILL BEING HELD IN ZANZIBAR FOR THE KARUME ASSASSINATION. A SMALL NUMBER ARE STILL UNDER PENALTY OF DEATH AFTER SEVERAL STAGES OF APPEAL.

ZANZIBAR PRESIDENT JUMBE HAS YET TO DECIDE THEIR FATE IN THE FINAL STAGE OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. THE GUILT OF THOSE INVOLVED HAS NEVER BEEN MUCH IN DOUBT AND IS NOT CURRENTLY AT ISSUE. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS ZANZIBAR'S LEGAL SYSTEM, IN WHICH THE DEFENSE AND PROSECUTION ARE REPRESENTED BY THE SAME GOVERNMENT COUNSEL. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, NO INDICATIONS THAT THE SYSTEM HAS PRODUCED INSUSTICE OR THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSONS OPERATING THE SYSTEM HAS BEEN COMPROMISED.

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(B) A SMALL NUMBER OF ZANZIBARIS IMPLICATED IN THE KARUME ASSASSINATION ARE STILL HELD IN MAINLAND TANZANIA. MAINLAND AUTHORITIES REFUSED TO LET THEM RETURN TO ZANZIBAR AS THEY FEARED THEIR EXECUTION WITHOUT TRIAL. THEY WERE TRIED IN ABSENTIA IN ZANZIBAR AND FOUND GUILTY. ABDULRAHMAN BABU, IDENTIFIED AS THE LEADER OF THE PLAN TO OVERTHROW THE ZANZIBAR GOVERNMENT, HAS BECOME A SYMBOL OF POLITICAL DETENTION IN TANZANIA.

BEYOND RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL OPPOSITION, INCLUDING DETENTION AND OCCASIONAL TORTURE, TANZANIA HAS NO SIGNIFICANT HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. THE COUNTRY'S PROGRAM OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EGALITARIANISM IS AIMED AT MAKING A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL TANZANIANS - BETTER EDUCATION, BETTER HEALTH, AND A HIGHER STANDARED OF LIVING. TANZANIA'S COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING THE LOT OF ITS RURAL POOR AS SUFFICIENTLY CREDIBLE TO ATTRACT AN ARRAY OF FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT AID DONORS, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, WHO TOGETHER CONTRIBUTED ABOUT \$300 MILLION IN 1977.

OCCASIONAL EXCESSES IN INSTITUTING SOCIALISM HAVE OCCURRED. FORCED MOVEMENT INTO COMMUNAL VILLAGES IS ONE INSTANCE. THIS PROBLEM APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CORRECTED. THE FORCED RETURN OF URBAN UNEMPLOYED TO RURAL VILLAGES IS A CURRENT ASPECT OF

GOVERNMENT POLICY TO PROMOTE THE PRODUCTIVITY OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL.
ELECTIONS RETURNED TO ZANZIBAR IN 1977, BUT AS ON THE MAINLAND,
THEY OCCURRED WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF A SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM.
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3. MAJOR US INTERESTS.

A) THE PRINCIPAL US OBJECTIVE IS TANZANIAN COOPERATION IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IF US INITIATIVES ARE TO GAIN WIDE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, TANZANIAN APPROVAL IS IMPORTANT. THIS DERIVES FROM THE ATTAINMENT BY PRESIDENT NYERERE OF A PLACE FOR TANZANIA AS A PRINCIPAL MORAL FORCE IN THE THIRD WORLD. TANZANIAN SUPPORT HAS BEEN SOUGHT THROUGH A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH NYERERE, HIGHLIGHTED BY HIS MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER IN WASHINGTON DURING HIS STATE VISIT IN AUGUST 1977. THE SUCCESS TO DATE IN ACHIEVING THE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN A NOTICEABLE IMPROVEMENT IN TANZANIAN-US RELATIONS. THE US, HOWEVER, MUST MAINTAIN ITS BONAFIDES AS AN ADVOCATE OFHCONSTRUCTION CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IF IT IS TO CONTINUE TO ENJOY NYERERE'S CONFIDENCE. OUR RECORD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IMPACTS DIRECTLY ON THE CREDENTIALS OF OUR CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN TANZANIA. ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF US-TANZANIAN RELATIONS ARE STILL MARKED BY SOCIALIST-CAPITALIST, POOR-RICH CONFRONTATION ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES.

B) A MAJOR INTEREST LIES IN THE DENIAL OF TANZANIAN MILITARY FACILITIES TO MAJOR POWERS. TANZANIA IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO BIG POWER RIVALRIES AND HAS NO INTEREST IN PROMOTING BIG POWER MILITARY OBJECTIVES. OUR COURSE LIES IN DEMONSTRATING TO TANZANIA THAT NON-ALIGNMENT IS A VIABLE AND DESIREABLE POLICY. THIS CAN BE DONE BY DEMONSTRATING THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN BE A SYMPATHETIC PARTNER IN HELPING TANZANIA ACHIEVE ITS AMBITIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT HOME AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

C) IMPROVING THE IMAGE OF THE US IN TANZANIA, A THIRD WORLD
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LEADER, IS A THIRD MAJOR INTEREST. THE CURRENT DIALOGUE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS QUITE NOTICEABLY ALTERED THE OFFICIAL TANZANIAN PERCEPTION OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS REFLECTED IN BETTER MEDIA TRATMENT AND IMPROVED ACCESS TO OFFICIALS AND INSTITUTIONS.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS.

A) OBJECTIVES.

TANZANIA'S APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS IS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF WHAT IS BEST FOR THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE RATHER THAN FROM A TRADITIONAL LIBERAL CONCERN ABOUT RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THAT IT HAS A STRONG HUMANIST RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS ITS PEOPLE AND IDENTIFIES THE MAJOR FREEDOM AS FREEDOM FROM WANT, HUNGER AND OPPRESSION. PRESIDENT NYERERE IS SENSITIVE AS WELL TO THE IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL FREEDOMS AND PERSONAL FREEDOMS, AND IS THUS SUBJECT TO ENCOURAGEMENT BY THOSE WHOSE GOOD INTENTIONS HE TRUSTS. (IN A VERY RECENT SPEECH HE STATED THAT TANZANIANS MUST INCREASINGLY BE ALLOWED MORE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. HE SAID THAT EACH YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE "MUST MEAN MORE FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE OF TANZANIA.") BUT HE ALSO BELIEVES FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS THAT THE FUNCTIONING OF A POLITICAL OPPOSITION AT THIS STAGE IN TANZANIA'S HISTORY IS LIKELY TO TAKE THE FORM OF POLITICAL LICENSE THAT COULD UNDERMINE SOCIALIST, EGALITARIAN PROGRESS AND THREATEN THE PRIME FREEDOM - FREEDOM FROM WANT.

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TANZANIA IS MOVING QUICKLY ENOUGH ON ITS OWN IN PURSUIT OF THE RIGHT TO FULFILLMENT OF SUCH VITAL NEEDS AS FOOD, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SHELTER. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO CONTINUE TO HELP EFFECTIVELY WHERE WE CAN THROUGH AID PROGRAMS.

OUR OBJECTIVES IN TANZANIA ENHANCING THE RIGHT TO ENJOY CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND TO BE FREE FROM ARBITRARY IMPRISONMENT AND TORTURE MAY BE OBTAINABLE ONLY IN THE LONG TERM. THEY ARE BEST PURSUED BY MAINTAINING OUR CREDENTIALS TO SPEAK ABOUT HUMAN

RIGHTS ISSUES AS A RESULT OF OUR OWN DOMESTIC POLICIES AND OUR SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY, AND BY PURSUING A HIGH-LEVEL, MOSTLY PRIVATE DIALOGUE ON THE SUBJECT.

B) SCENARIO AND IMPACT ON OTHER POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

THERE IS NO REALISTIC PROSPECT OF OUTSIDE PRESSURE BRINGING TANZANIA TO IMPROVE SUBSTANTIALLY ITS HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS ARISE NOT FROM CONSIDERED GOVERNMENT POLICIES BUT RATHER FROM THE INSECURITIES OF AN IMMATURE POLITICAL SYSTEM. A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO TANZANIA ON ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE WOULD BE SEEN BY NYERERE AS GROSS INTERFERENCE IN ESSENTIAL TANZANIAN AFFAIRS. IT WOULD PUT IN DISTINCT JEOPARDY THE ATTAINMENT OF US POLICY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, BASED AS THEY ARE ON MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND PERSONAL TIES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. IT SHOULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED THAT

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THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA REGARDS ITSELF AS A CHAMPION OF WHAT IT SEES AS THE WORLD'S MOST CRITICAL HUMAN RIGHTS CRISES - THE RACIAL AND COLONIAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE HAVE-NOTS VS. THE HAVES IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER. IT IS THUS ALL THE MORE LIKELY TO TAKE OFFENSE TO CHARGES THAT IT IS INSENSITIVE TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE UNITED STATES CAN EXPECT TO HAVE NO SIGNIFICANT DIRECT IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TANZANIA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM TO THE POINT WHERE IT CAN TOLERATE DISSENT AND CHALLENGE. THE EVOLUTION CAN PERHAPS BE HASTENED, HOWEVER, BY STEADY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUED EXPOSURE OF TANZANIAN LEADERS TO THE MAINSTREAM OF ENLIGHTENED THOUGHT AND PRACTICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE US IS ALREADY MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS IN BOTH THESE AREAS. CURRENT AID PROGRAMS, INCLUDING LOANS UNDER PL 480, TITLE II, SUPPORT DIRECTLY TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDIRECTLY ITS STABILITY.

CONTRIBUTING TO TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATING WITH TANZANIA ON SOUTHERN AFRICA PROVIDE AT PRESENT INSUFFICIENT LEVERAGE TO AFFECT DIRECTLY TANZANIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. IT IS, HOWEVER, IMPORTANT TO BE ALERT FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO ENGAGE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN TANZANIA SINCE THE CURRENT US-TANZANIA RAPPROCHEMENT IS BASED HEAVILY ON CONTACTS AND MUTUAL ADMIRATION AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AND ON INDIVIDUALS SUCH AS AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG. OCCASIONAL PRIVATE INDICATIONS FROM THEM TO SENIOR OFFICIALS IN TANZANIA OF WHAT THEY ARE SAYING AND DOING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD MIGHT HAVE SOME LONG-TERM FAVORABLE IMPACT. THE SAME MIGHT BE TRUE OF PERSUADING OTHERS WHOM NYERERE TRUSTS - E.G., THE SCANDINAVIANS - TO DISCREETLY LOBBY HIM ON HUMAN RIGHTS. APPROACHES SHOULD INCLUDE MENTION OF TANZANIA'S PROGRESS IN

ECONOMIC RIGHTS, WHICH TO TANZANIA ARE NOW MORE IMPORTANT FOR
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THE COUNTRY THAN POLITICAL RIGHTS.

SOME EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT TO
REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF DETAINEES BY LIMITING THE NUMBERS OF
OFFICIALS WITH THE AUTHORITY TO ORDER DETENTION. THIS TREND IS
ENCOURAGING. APPROVAL OF TORTURE IS BY NO MEANS UNIVERSAL
AMONG TANZANIAN POLITICAL LEADERS. TANZANIA DOES NOT, HOWEVER,
ACKNOWLEDGE THE USE OF TORTURE AND AN APPROACH ON THIS SUBECT
COULD WELL BE DAMAGING TO US OBJECTIVES. TANZANIA COULD BE
ENCOURAGED TO IMPROVE PRISON STANDARDS. FOOD AND HEALTH CARE
ARE APPARENTLY ADEQUATE IN SOME PRISONS BUT NOT IN OTHERS.
FINALLY, THERE MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY OF ENCOURAGING TANZANIA
TO PERIODICALLY LIST PUBLICLY THOSE IN DETENTION.
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